

Social Questions

BULLETIN

of the Methodist Federation for Social Service (unofficial), an organization which rejects the method of the struggle for profit as the economic base for society; which seeks to replace it with social-economic planning in order to develop a society without class distinctions and privileges.

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Church Women and Labor

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The proportion of women within the ranks of clerical and industrial workers has been increasing steadily for many years. At the outbreak of World War II there were in the United States 11 million employed women, the number increasing rapidly to 19 million—the wartime peak. The number of women in the organized labor movement rose from one-half million to over 3 million. The trend has been worldwide. Throughout the world in recent years women have been making an unprecedented contribution in industry, business, trades, services, the professions, and on the farms.

Women also have been carrying increasing responsibility in the activities and leadership of the labor unions.

Identification of women with the trade union movement also is a world-wide trend, and is much further advanced in such countries as Great Britain where there are 22 women labor members in the new Parliament.

What does this mean to church women?

This article is concerned primarily with the relation of the organized church women's groups to women in industry and the trade union movement, for here the church women's groups, like the Protestant Church as a whole, is weakest in its contacts and insights, though there is some evidence of progress. In order to illustrate what "church women" are doing and might do, this article will refer in particular to Methodist women in local Woman's Societies of Christian Service, and, on the national level, to the actions of the Woman's Division of Christian Service—such actions stemming from the Department of Christian Social Relations and Local Church Activities. These actions are duplicated in other denominational and interdenominational bodies of Protestant women and among Jewish women's groups.

Why do women work? Women, like men, need jobs to support themselves and their families. The Women's Bureau of the U. S. Department of Labor has estimated that 80 per cent of women in the labor force work to support themselves, and that 30 per cent support themselves and others. War casualties will force many women to continue in employment; in addition, the excess of women over men in the post-war population will compel them to be self-supporting. Many women will continue to work so as to supplement their husbands' pay, in order to make possible a more adequate life for themselves and their families: more and better food, housing, medical care, educational and cultural opportunities. The sharp reduction in the take-home pay of former war workers affects millions of families. There are women, too, who find satisfactions in work that utilizes their training and abilities, in being independent, and in making a contribution to society through their services. In 1943, the Truman Committee reported: "Many of the women who

have gone into our factories and done such splendid work during the war will want to continue working, and they are entitled to a chance to earn a good living at jobs they have shown they can do." This country must use effectively the valuable skills of women workers demonstrated during these past years. Church women can help build a public mind concerning this.

Will women withdraw from employment?

During the war years, new fields of work and training opened to women. An improved standard of living was possible for some. They gained greater competence and self-assurance. Those who fear insufficient employment in the post-war period are eager to see women withdraw from employment. Many women will, of course, return to home-making, or continue their education, or retire—but various surveys have indicated that 60-85 per cent want to retain their jobs or secure other employment. The number of women expected to remain in the labor force is estimated at 15-16 million.

Will women get jobs, and under what conditions? Opportunities for women to work depend primarily on the availability of jobs. Employment for all men and women who need to work must be planned for and realized. Without full employment opportunities, women and members of the various racial, cultural, and national minorities will suffer first, and with them not only their families but the total community. Church women's groups, as well as unions, and various socially-minded agencies have supported a policy of full employment and equal rights for all wage-earners, regardless of race, creed, color, national origin, or sex—and have endorsed implementing legislation.

Special problems of working women

Because women have newly entered many jobs, they have not built up long seniority records. Unions have adopted "seniority," or length of time in service, as a workable basis for determining layoffs, promotions, and re-hiring. Some employers ignore women's seniority, and there are some union contracts which still do not protect their seniority. Already there is evidence of women being downgraded to lower paying jobs, and being laid off more quickly than men in comparable jobs and with the same seniority. Men with less seniority are often retained while women are dismissed.

There is also real need for equal opportunities for training and promotion for women. This is increasingly supported in union contracts. In this reconversion period the community should provide adequate counseling, training, and placement facilities for women. The voice of church women joined with those of other agencies can help bring this about in the local community.

There are traditions concerning women's work, and women's pay, such as lower wages to women than to men

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doing the same job, and that of labeling some types of work "women's work" and keeping the level of pay low. Some improvements are evident: some industries have adopted the policy of equal pay for equal work; some unions have included such a clause in their contracts; six states have adopted equal pay laws, and an equal pay bill has been introduced in Congress. There is a growing realization that equal pay for women protects the pay and jobs of men. Church women's groups have joined other groups supporting and promoting such legislation, and they have affirmed their belief in collective bargaining as the democratic way for labor and management to arrive at mutually satisfactory agreements.

Minimum wage laws need to be strengthened and extended so as to raise the minimum and to bring under coverage the millions still not included. Besides supporting pending legislation to raise the minimum provided in the Federal Fair Labor Standards Act from 40 to 65 cents an hour, church women in some states have worked for state minimum wage legislation for either men or women, or both men and women. They have served on community committees (consisting of representatives of all faiths, civic, social work, government, labor and management groups), discussing and promoting state minimum wage legislation. They have aided in the formulation of effective strategy, and channeled the information down to their local church women's groups. In one state, Methodist women took the initiative in calling together groups of church women of all faiths in various localities, to give them information concerning the needs for and provisions of this legislation, and possible effective action. Although the bill did not pass in this first attempt, the women are realizing the need for continuing their efforts until it does become a law.

Church women have participated similarly in community efforts related to FEPC and child labor legislation, child-care centers, housing, recreation, and welfare facilities and services. There is need at this time for the extension and strengthening of existing protective legislation relating to hours, hazardous occupations, and rest periods, and for the extension of legislation providing social security and health care for all people. Church women are supporting pending legislation.

As many women must continue to carry the double responsibility of homemaking and employment outside the home, some will prefer part-time employment; also, unnecessary strain would be eliminated if there were adequate provision for the care of their children, counseling services, and other community services for themselves and their families. Unions have taken responsibility for many of these services; the church and community need to continue to recognize their responsibility.

It is important that church women's national bodies continue the employment of their wartime defense workers in this post-war period, for there is still a great shifting of workers and a need for church women to help in their integration and adjustment, and in establishing adequate church and community services. The understandable weariness, apathy, and real fear of insecurity must not be allowed to develop into a withdrawing from, ignoring of, or resentment toward newcomers. Such services of the church have and can continue to contribute to the building of better church-labor understanding.

As individual consumers, church women should express their concern for conditions under which a product is made or a service rendered, by protesting substandard practices, and exerting the pressure of their purchasing power. If higher prices are necessary to correct conditions, they should be ready to pay a fairly determined increase. Such consumer pressure and legislative activity must go hand in hand. Church women's groups have included in their recommendations reminders to their members that they examine their

own employment practices in their homes, and the employment practices of their local churches.

Church women can help build the public conscience concerning conditions in the community, state, and nation. They can interpret the human side of economic problems, and indicate the meaning of better standards for the American family, the community, nation, and world. They can help interpret the ethical and spiritual implications of any issue. They can discover areas of agreement with other agencies and groups, and recognize their joint responsibility for the welfare of mankind. They can have the knowledge and courage to go beyond prevailing traditional concepts of their community and group. In industrial conflicts, this would mean giving serious consideration to labor's as well as management's story, the seeking of all relevant facts, and the judging of each case on its own merits. Where labor's demands seem justified, more courageous support by the church and church women should be expressed through their activity as citizens and consumers. All too little of this has been done.

Relation of employed women to church women's groups

Many employed women, organized and unorganized, are members of the churches and of church women's groups. Many denominations have active evening women's circles and groups especially for employed women, like the Wesleyan Service Guild of the Methodist Church. Some local churches and women's groups have many industrial workers in their membership. While the number of the latter have increased during recent years, yet, too often, the proportion of potentially Protestant industrial workers identified with any church is far lower than that of other groups in the community.

Where this situation prevails, church women might well try to discover the reasons—examining their programs, attitudes, and the atmosphere of the church in terms of the needs and interests of industrial workers. As church women gain greater insight and understanding of these needs and interests and get to know those identified with the labor movement better; as church women's groups enlarge their fellowship to be genuine and all-inclusive, broaden their leadership to be more representative, and work with the people on church and community problems, only then will the Church fulfill its mission and earn the respect and response of the workers.

In recent years there has been evidence of a growing receptivity on the part of labor leaders for understanding and co-operation with the churches. There are growing numbers in organized labor—both among the leaders of the movement and among the rank and file who recognize the distinctive contribution that the Church can make to the morale of labor and to personal character and life. Members of churches who are members of trade unions or of women's auxiliaries of trade unions, should be encouraged to study, in the light of their Christian faith, their responsibilities as Church women in aiding the Church to fulfill its ministry.

We are in a period of growing tensions and sharpening conflicts between labor and management. The Church must meet these days with a faith expressed not only in principles and pronouncements, but in an enlarged and much more effective program of concrete action.

Say it with a smile! "We want to export our culture and not import theirs," Dr. J. Martin Klotsche, Dean of Education, Milwaukee State Teachers' College, said in discussing his topic, "Educating for One World," at the first annual educational conference of the Toledo Federation of Teachers.—From the *Michigan Teacher*, a publication of the Michigan affiliate of the American Federation of Teachers.

Women and Child Care

DOROTHY McMICHAEL¹

A few weeks ago at a hospital I noticed a nurse's aide depositing patients' trays on their tables none too gently. Awhile later, while we were sterilizing equipment together, I learned the reason for her grumpiness. She worked from 3 o'clock to 11:30 for \$95 a month. Getting home at a quarter to 12 at night, she had to prepare lunches for her husband and older son for the next day. At 7, in the morning she got up to get breakfast for them, and to get her younger boy and daughter ready for school. Then she had to do the housework, once or twice a week hang out the wash which her husband had done the night before, prepare lunch for the school children and, when they had gone back to school, iron and prepare a dinner which the family could warm up while she was working. This schedule was fast wearing her down. During the war her husband had worked in a war plant and they had been getting by financially, but with reconversion he had been forced to take a wage-cut and the only way to make ends meet was for her to go to work. She had previously worked as a Volunteer Nurse's Aide and, as she had no other job-training and they lived near the hospital, she had taken her present job despite the low pay. Her schedule may be heavier than average, the hour arrangement certainly bad, but I do not believe that it is atypical in terms of the volume of work on the job and at home which is done by many working mothers.

The United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America have recently completed a survey of women working in New York state in their industry with regard to their intention of continuing to work after the war. Eighty-two per cent of the women interviewed stated that for financial reasons they had to continue working. Others wanted to continue working and some were undecided. Only about 9 per cent intended to stop working. A Department of Labor survey showed that 75 per cent of women must keep on working. Statistically, women outnumber men, and women's goal can no longer be that of finding a man to "cherish" and support them. On a numerical basis some are bound to lose out. Many service men's widows must continue working, and they often have children to support. In the immediate period many wives must continue working because their husbands are still in the service. If industry wins its present fight to keep wages down, it will take more than one bread-winner in a family to achieve that "high" standard of living which Americans are taught from the cradle is an American birth-right.

Many working women are mothers, and many do not want to be deprived of having children because they must work. The most pressing problem of working mothers is that of child care. A good public nursery-school and after-school program has solved the problem in many war-centers. The *New York Times* of Nov. 18 reported the death of a little boy who was burned trying to save his sister from a fire. The children had been locked in the house by their mother before she went to work. Mothers don't want to leave their children without supervision, worry about what may happen when the children run the streets, and usually don't do it unless it's a case of financial necessity.

Somewhat grudgingly, with much emphasis on the emergency status of the legislation, Congress passed the Lanham Act providing Federal funds to match State funds for the maintenance of nursery schools and after-school centers for children of mothers working in war industries. This Act will expire March 31st unless Congress votes to continue it and, since there are no more "war" industries, extend the care to children of all working mothers. It is not yet certain that the extension will be made, because a reactionary group

in Congress and out of Congress would like to solve the unemployment problem by sending working women "back to the kitchen" and do not want to encourage women to work by making child-care easier for them. The Full Employment bill would be a milestone in establishing women's right to work and, realizing this, a rider has been introduced excluding "housewives" from the benefits of the bill. Women have been lauded for their share in winning the war; they acquired many new skills which most people believed were impossible for them, and it seemed to be considered fine while we were making bombs or tanks or cannon, but it is now branded as unwomanly to use these skills for making washing-machines, automobiles, or tractors.

Consider what some other countries have done in the child-care field. In Britain, as in the United States, there was a tremendous increase of nursery schools during the war. It is probable that no country has surpassed the three model institutions directed by Anna Freud in England. Every consideration was given to the child's psychological development, even to the extent of giving a mother a job in the institution to enable her to remain near a child when the need was particularly severe, or allowing parents to visit the children whenever they could rather than to observe regular visiting hours. If parents wanted to stay all night, cots were set up for them. This was a long step in breaking the "institutional" atmosphere where full-time care was required. The day-care nursery was also as near perfection as it could be made, and since day-care is considered better for the average child than separation from the home (institutional care was necessitated by bombings in England) perhaps the future child-care in England will be modeled on Anna Freud's nursery school. The average nursery school in England seems to be about the same as that in America, and they were developed there, as here, in response to the war emergency.

In Sweden, before the war, there was an interesting nursery-school program the main purpose of which was to make family living more enjoyable. While children were enjoying themselves in nursery schools, parents were enabled to enrich their lives. A few Children's Hotels were set up where children could be well taken care of while parents went on ski trips or country week-ends. This program was curtailed by the war.

The only country which has developed public nursery schools and other child-care centers with the philosophy that women should be helped to work or to contribute in other ways to community life, and that children should have the best possible training at every age, is the Soviet Union. Their schools were started long before the war, and will continue with better standards in peacetime.

On November 10 I attended a Conference called by the Committee of Women of the Council on American-Soviet Friendship entitled "Women United for One World." Its purpose was to acquaint American women with what Soviet women are doing (incidentally explaining how they manage to do it) in hopes of furthering unity between the two against a horrible, atom-bombing third World War. It was the most stimulating conference I've attended in years because it kept hitting at the problems which are closest to most of the young women of my "generation." As regards women the Soviet philosophy differs from that of America. The constitution guarantees full employment for everyone at equal pay regardless of sex, and the Russians contend vigorously that women have a place both in and out of the home. In the early post-revolutionary period, women's rights were emphasized more or less at the expense of the home, but it was soon recognized that a stable home is also very important. The illegalization of abortion, the enormous

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Executive Secretary's Report

In my report in the December BULLETIN reference was made to a new MFSS Chapter organized at Norman, Okla. The Chapter president writes that the first meeting was given to the question of the Atomic Bomb and its United Nations' control—our MFSS statement being used as a basis of discussion. Also he reports a ferment there for the opening of the doors of the University of Oklahoma to Negro students. This is significant in a state where Negro college students do not have anything like equal educational opportunity and it is of particular interest coming from young white Oklahomans. This enthusiastic, on-fire group will bring much life and leadership to our developing youth division.

When the last report was written I was in Atlanta in the middle of a field trip in the South. From Atlanta I went to Waycross where I attended a part of the session of the South Georgia Annual Conference. Opportunity was given to me by the World Peace Commission to speak to the Conference. Two special meetings were called for the MFSS. These saw the definite organization of a South Georgia Conference Chapter of the MFSS. Many new voting members were secured. Chapter officers were elected. The proposed Conference Chapter Standards were all accepted as immediate goals, and an enlarged Executive Committee was provided to work with the four elected officers. Of these officers, the President and Vice-President are ministers, the Secretary is a youth (attending the Conference as a member of the Board of Education, and a highly enthusiastic Federationist, now a student at Wesleyan College), and the Treasurer is a socially-minded lawyer. All participants in these two well-attended meetings had copies of our Proposed Program of Study and Action. They had no illusions about the fundamental changes for which the Federation stands. So far as I know, this is the first Conference Chapter to elect a youth member to one of the major positions of Chapter responsibility. A letter has just come telling that the South Georgia MFSS Executive Committee is meeting in Macon with expectation of a dynamic program of action for the Chapter as the result.

From Waycross I went to Clemson, South Carolina, to meet with an interested group during the Upper South Carolina Conference. We were handicapped by the fact that Dr. John W. Shackford, who had taken the initiative in calling this meeting on behalf of the Federation, had been recently transferred to the Virginia Conference and was not able to be present at Clemson. Nevertheless, a splendid group of men and women, who met together under the leadership of Dr. J. M. Rast, decided to go ahead and organize a Conference Chapter, and to seek to strengthen it.

From Clemson I went to the Paine College Annual Conference on Socio-Religious Affairs to give the keynote address. Conference participants were students from most Georgia colleges and universities (both white and Negro), and from a few colleges of South Carolina and Alabama. Under the initiative of some of the students a special meeting was called on behalf of the Federation. New youth memberships were secured and new interest generated. The brotherly and unsegregated world of the future there envisaged frightens some adults. But it rejoices these splendid and dedicated Christian young people.

From Paine College I went to Birmingham-Southern College to participate in a special youth meeting arranged by Professor Harold Hutson, a committed Federationist who is taking great initiative in building the Federation in the North Alabama Conference. A local MFSS youth unit was organized. Some fifteen voting youth members were secured, and the proposed local chapter standards were accepted as immediate goals.

The most exciting thing that happened on this Southern trip was in Greenville, Alabama, where the Alabama Conference MFSS Chapter was organized on November 14 at

a supper meeting called just prior to the convening of the Annual Conference. Officers were elected. Selection of an Executive Committee was provided for. Immediate action was taken against peacetime conscription and the poll tax. This action was taken in the Deep South, black belt, southern section of a poll-tax state. A year-long project of Chapter research and study was also agreed to, as a result of which a document will be produced which may point the way toward greater economic brotherhood and democratization within the ministry of our own Methodist Church. An amazing amount of work had been done before this meeting by the Rev. Andrew S. Turnipseed, who had taken major initiative in building Federation membership within the Alabama Conference. This membership drive was intensified and continued at the Annual Conference session. It has also been continued since. A telegram has come from Brother Turnipseed, stating that 100 voting members of the Federation have now been secured. *The Alabama Conference Chapter of the MFSS has become, therefore, the first fully Standard Conference Chapter in all Methodism.* If this could happen in the heart of the black belt and in the very deep South, it can and should happen in all of the Conferences of Methodism. It is no longer true that the South is virgin territory for the MFSS. In the days ahead we have every right to expect from this area some of our strongest and most thoroughly dedicated leadership.

From Greenville I returned to Atlanta. At Emory University on November 18 a meeting was held by Methodist students from Emory and Agnes Scott College for Women. An intercollegiate MFSS Chapter was organized. Over 25 voting youth memberships were reportedly secured on the spot. This new intercollegiate local MFSS Chapter will ultimately be expanded so as to include colleges throughout the Atlanta area, thus becoming interracial. From Atlanta I went to Milledgeville, Georgia, to address the student body of Georgia State College for Women on Monday morning, the 19th, and to participate in a meeting of our MFSS youth unit there that evening. At that supper meeting, held at the Wesley Foundation, new youth members were secured. This youth unit has now some 30 members, and thus has become a fully standard local MFSS Chapter. These Georgia girls meet once each week and spend up to an hour together writing individual letters and post cards to their congressmen on legislative issues such as FEPC, the Anti-Poll Tax Bill, and the whole gamut of full employment measures which have been pushed by the Federation nationally. There is probably more specific action represented in this local chapter than in any other of our chapters across the country. They write only on bills which they have previously studied and on which they have reached definite convictions.

From Milledgeville I went to Wesleyan College in Macon, Georgia, where I addressed the student body in the morning and participated in a special meeting for the Federation in the evening. This meeting not only was participated in by interested students and faculty members from the Wesleyan campus, but also by students from the Conservatory some miles distant and from Mercer College, a Southern Baptist institution. At this meeting it was proposed to organize an intercollegiate MFSS Chapter. This is especially heartening because there has been so little intercollegiate fellowship in Macon. It is hoped, in fact, that this intercollegiate chapter will also become an interracial chapter.

Following the Wesleyan meeting I went again to Atlanta to speak on Wednesday, November 21, to the student body at Clark College, a Methodist co-educational Negro institution. Opportunity was also given there to hold a special meeting on the Federation. It is hoped that Clark students will organize a local MFSS unit. On the 21st, also, I visited the North Georgia Annual Conference. We have in

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Women's Interests

In these days it is clear that women's interests do not stop with the front gate. Tens of millions of our citizens need decent homes while abroad whole populations need bread and clothing. An atomic bomb race is threatening, which, if it erupts in war, may kill from a third to a half of our population and wipe out civilization itself. We need industrial peace and unity instead of the bitter class conflicts which are impending.

The Christian spirit of love and good-will backed up by intelligence and energy will go far to solve these issues as well as the host of local problems relating to schools, health, recreation, and public welfare in every community and state. If they are to be solved properly, church women must take active interest in government, which in a democracy is the collective agent for dealing with such problems. If we remain aloof and above the battle, failing to take

our full part, we have no right to criticize what happens.

I therefore urge that all of us: (1) Take a more active interest in public affairs and try to understand the main issues at stake in the more important public problems, specializing perhaps in one or two of them. (2) Join some non-partisan group which cuts across political and religious lines and concerns itself with the general welfare. Examples of such groups are the League of Women Voters, the Business and Professional Women's Club, and the American Association of University Women. (3) Pick out the party which most nearly represents our ideals and work within it to improve local, state, and national conditions.

Democracy is not self-operating. It needs the interest and efforts of people in peace as well as in war. If we are to save ourselves, we must get out of the grandstand and mix in the affairs of life.—EMILY TAFT DOUGLAS.

The Future of Chinese Democracy

Of deep concern to the Western world is the question of what the future of Chinese democracy is to be. Long ago, in his "Modern Democracies," James Bryce pointed out that China furnishes a promising field for a demonstration of the values of popular government—its people possessing five indispensable qualities: industry, independence of character, a respect for settled order, a sense of what moral duty means, and a deference to intellectual eminence. They have, he further declared, "the power of working together; they can restrain their feelings and impulses; they are highly intelligent and amenable to reason."

It is to be earnestly hoped that General George C. Marshall, our new special envoy to China—in contrast to the fiasco of General "Pat" Hurley—will be able to make a substantial contribution to what China does not now possess: a genuine, constitutional, democratic government.

The President's statement of China policy, issued on December 15, the day on which General Marshall left Washington en route to China, was on the whole reassuring. It reiterated what had previously been said more than once: that "United States support will not extend to United States military intervention to influence the course of any Chinese internal strife." The difficulty in recent months has been that all such statements have been contravened by practice, and deeds have spoken louder than words. Despite the President's announcement in his Navy Day speech that it is the policy of this country not to interfere in the internal affairs of other nations, and General Wedemeyer's assurance that the United States would not assist one faction against the other in China, our government has continued to furnish arms and supplies to Kuomintang troops, and our planes have covered their operations. Despite earlier statements and their reiteration on December 15 that the "United States Marines are in North China" to assist "in effecting the disarmament and evacuation of Japanese troops," a discouragingly small number have been evacuated and, according to accredited correspondents of the Associated Press and leading American newspapers, former Japanese troops have been used in cooperation with Kuomintang forces in "guarding" certain areas and railway lines.

The President's statement is frank in saying that the National Government of China is a "one-party government," and that the United States "strongly advocates" giving other political elements "a fair and effective representation in the Chinese National Government." The final paragraphs have been interpreted by some as a thinly veiled threat that unless this is done the United States will not continue to aid China in its rehabilitation and in the improvement of its agrarian and industrial economy. The

weakness of the statement is its unqualified insistence that the Kuomintang is "the only legal government of China." Such a statement ignores the fact that the Kuomintang is not the government of all of China. It would be equally true to say that Kuomintang is an armed political party that has succeeded in establishing governmental rule over a major area of China, but is not recognized by the people of a considerable part of the country. A further weakness of the statement is the possibility of its being interpreted as agreeing with Chiang Kai-shek's contention that the communists must *obey the "legal government"* of China. This, it seems abundantly clear, they will not do unless and until there is a thorough going reform of the Kuomintang. Promises, they insist, are not enough; there must be a remaking of the party in terms of *bona fide* democracy. Mere promises, as Li Hwang, the chairman of the China Youth Party, delegate to the San Francisco Conference, said, are "the same old story; nine years ago the Kuomintang government appointed 1,200 men to membership in the National Assembly, . . . supposed to represent the people of China; actually they represented the Kuomintang. It is unfair. It is undemocratic and illegal. There are no elections. It is simply a one-party dictatorship." Only as the Kuomintang shows genuine willingness to share authority and power—not absorbing, but merging—with other political groups into a nationwide system of real self-government can unity in China be hoped for. Upon this the future of Chinese democracy depends.

Social Questions

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The METHODIST FEDERATION
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(Unofficial)

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Grateful Acknowledgment

For our guest editorial of the month we express our thanks to an outstanding member of Congress. The citizens of Illinois showed discrimination and good judgment in the election of Emily Taft Douglas as Congressman-at-Large. The women of the United States have all too few representatives in Congress but in Mrs. Douglas they have one capable of representing them well.

Executive Committee Meets

Taking advantage of the anticipated presence of a number of its members at the annual meeting of the Board of Missions and Church Extension, the Executive Committee, MFSS, met at Buck Hill Falls, Pa., on Dec. 2 in quarterly session. Present were Bishop L. O. Hartman, president; Bishop Charles W. Brashares, Corliss D. Hargraves, Edgar A. Love, Miriam V. Ristine, Robert C. Howe, Wayne White, and Jack R. McMichael. Also present as guests were Bishop and Mrs. W. Earl Ledden, Bishop Newell S. Booth, and C. E. Wegner. Miss Thelma Stevens, Mrs. M. E. Tilly, and Ann Fitzpatrick were present at the Inn, and expected to attend but because of illness were unable to be at the session. The report of the Executive Secretary was read, commended, and approved. A number of routine items were acted upon. John A. Rustin was elected chairman of the subcommittee on legislation. The SOCIAL QUESTIONS BULLETIN was discussed at length and suggestions on form and content were offered. The Literature Committee was asked to speed production of supplemental literature. The importance of implementing the program of study and action was stressed and the continued and expanded use of the special "action list" was voted. The establishment of a lending library in memory of Mrs. H. M. Ratliff was approved. Other important actions were taken.

Executive Secretary's Report

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the North Georgia Conference many friends who are tried and true. A number of the strongest ministers in the Conference have recently become voting members of the Federation. Here, however, we encountered the first example on this trip of open opposition to our organization—this from an older man who told me that he had preached the Gospel of Jesus for 40 years. He held that whatever North Georgia Methodists did on social issues should be done by the Annual Conference and by it alone. He did not present any positive rational arguments as a Christian for the permanent continuation of segregation.

This plea for racial segregation was made in the very church and room where but a few weeks before I had witnessed an official WSCS meeting on an inclusive interracial basis. This church is but one and one-half blocks from the secular CIO headquarters, which serves workers of both races on a brotherly and unsegregated basis. The Christian meeting where this plea for segregation was made was held on Wednesday night. The next night (Thanksgiving) I was on the train heading for National Headquarters. We were still very much in the Old South, which I so deeply love, and in the unfolding democracy of which I so firmly believe. When I sat down to Thanksgiving turkey a Negro sailor was being served in the same dining car and there was no segregation. Whites were on both sides of him. The white Southern steward treated him with the same respect and courtesy accorded to the rest of us.

Certainly many tragic and disturbing things have been happening in our world in these last few months. One thinks of the struggle for democratic independence of the plain men and women of Indonesia and other colonial

lands. One remembers also the peasants and students of China who are dedicated to nothing more radical than the attainment of that political and economic democracy, in a truly independent land, to which Sun Yat Sen pointed the way.

Nevertheless we surely agree that it is not for us in the Federation to give way to despair. We have never assumed that the forces of imperialism and reaction would give up without battle. We never succumbed to the illusion that military victory would end or fully solve the basic social problems of this historic era. We knew and know that these problems will be solved and reaction defeated only in and by the democratic struggle of the people. We want to be part of that struggle. And we see across the face of the earth new and heroic allies. We believe that the incarnate God of history is Himself not indifferent, and assures ultimate triumph. It is ours in the fellowship of the Federation ever to seek to know His will for us and for this Movement. Thank God for this fellowship within the Church, challenged in this crucial day to speak out clearly, to act courageously, and to find new effectiveness in the continuing fulfillment of man's dream of democratic brotherhood.

Delayed Mailing

The December issue of the BULLETIN was held in the plant of the mailing company for three weeks after it was off the press due to inability of the company to procure paper for wrappers. A year's supply is on order and it is hoped that delay from this cause will not again occur.

For Immediate Attention

House Resolution 408, introduced by Rep. Hugh De Lacy of Washington state, calling upon the President "to order forthwith the recall of all United States troops, transports, and supplies from China; to express to China, America's deep regret that she should be divided into two armed camps; and to offer every peaceful assistance which would help her to take her rightful place as a great united democratic nation," has been referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs, Rep. Sol Bloom, chairman. Open hearings on the resolution would bring to the attention of the American people much information on the current China situation which they do not now possess. *Write your Congressman urging that open hearings be held!*

The Pepper-Hook Bill (S 1349-HR 3914) sets a 65¢ minimum wage, widens the coverage, and prohibits child labor. There is some chance of early consideration by the Senate. The National Committee for a Fair Minimum Wage writes that "the most urgent need at the moment is for communications with Senators." *Write your Senator urging consideration of this bill!*

"Civilization is threatened today by provincialistic and abortive nationalisms, masquerading as cultural movements, which shake their febrile fists in the face of the race, and dare Man to march onward toward his true destiny. Within both Judaism and Christianity there are elements whose wisest leaders still bow unafraid at the shrine of truth and behold there a compelling vision of a liberated humanity, released from the chains of the now irrelevant past, striding on to a more glorious future. But if this is ever to become more than a mere vision, the hour has now struck when those who see it must no longer count the cost of severing dear and comfortable associations in the interests of a truer catholicism than the world has ever seen."—William C. Graham and Herbert G. May, in "Culture and Conscience."

Women and Race Prejudice

RUTH McK. MOORE¹

Their work being directly concerned with persons more than with things, women are likely to feel the importance of human as against material values, to consider the effect of events and actions on persons rather than on possessions. This tends to make them more liberal in economic matters than are men, for men, being breadwinners, are suspicious of and on the defensive against anything that may hurt business and so jeopardize their livelihood.

This stressing of human values tends to make women more liberal also in the matter of race relations, to make them look on people as individuals rather than as members of a certain race.

However, women are more easily affected by social considerations than men are; thus their impulse toward brotherhood may be checked. It is therefore anyone's guess whether men or women have more tolerance toward persons of other races. Indeed, it seems to me the difference is less between men and women than between young people and their elders. Through young people almost exclusively can reforms come, because they have not lived long enough to learn that things like doing away with "jim crow" and being friends with persons of other races—Jewish, Chinese, Japanese—are not "practical." They think that Jesus really meant all men are brothers and that Paul believed God "made of one blood all nations of men to dwell on all the face of the earth." They have never learned that brotherhood won't work, so they act as though it will and it does.

"If my grandmother ever finds this out it will be the end of me," said a young Methodist traveling to a Youth Fellowship Conference. Having just learned that the Conference was to be interracial, she had, after much thought, decided to chance it rather than turn around and return to her home in Mississippi. She determined not to let the hand of a past generation with its outworn prejudices and hates, hold her back from doing what she believed to be right.

It is, in fact, baseless to generalize about men versus women or both versus youth, in their attitudes on race, for exceptions immediately appear. In my church school class, high school juniors were discussing their prejudice against Negroes. One girl spoke up, "It's different for you, you're a Yankee."

"Yes," I agreed, "it is different for me. What's more, I can't even feel virtuous about having no prejudice against Negroes. I am too busy being contrite over my own prejudices."

"That's nothing," this youthful American replied airily, "we don't like Jews either."

Moreover, some adults are broadminded. For the first time in some years in a southern Ohio community, Negro and white high school boys had been combined on one excellent football team instead of being kept separate on two weak teams. Since the Negroes as well as the white boys were good players and good fellows, there was friendship between the players. And as successive Saturdays saw games won instead of lost, the friendship ripened into comradeship.

At the end of the successful season some of the mothers in the P.T.A. dared dream of a victory banquet for the players and their fathers. And the party went off very well, with no row, and almost no adverse comment.

We cannot, therefore, generalize about the race prejudice of men, women, and young people. Environment, upbringing, and community mores are more important factors.

"That professor sure does burn me up," said a boy from Oregon. "Those colored students are just as good as anyone else and he keeps telling jokes against them, the kind

that make Negroes out stupid or ridiculous, with them sitting right there in the class! He's downright rude, if you ask me. I'm glad I'm not that bigoted. I guess I haven't any race prejudices—against Negroes anyway," he added airily. "But if you want to know what makes me sick, it is to read about that Boy Scout camp up the river where the prize for one of the races went to a Jap! Imagine a Jap being there at all, to say nothing of his winning a prize!"

Race prejudice, however, is not confined to the West Coast, the South, or any one region. Let the New Englander priding himself on a long liberal tradition and pointing to Negroes at Harvard, scrutinize his own attitude toward Jews—the New Yorker, too, in spite of his Ives law, which forbids discrimination in employment because of race. In fact, the whole Eastern seaboard is teeming with anti-Semitism. Usually knowing a fine member of a race will do a great deal to break down prejudice, but here it does not work.

"I don't mind Jews. Some of my best friends are Jewish," say these Eastern liberals. "I don't care what a person's religion or race is; character is what matters." Asked if he would want a Jewish person to buy a house next door, he replies, slightly embarrassed, "Of course not. It would be all right if only one Jewish family moved into the neighborhood, but they are never satisfied. Right away all their friends and relations follow, and the place is soon alive with them." Consider the metaphor!

Lillian Smith suggests that a part of the violence of our hatred of the Nazis may have been due to their success in training away their consciences. What they did for less than thirty years we have been doing in a quieter way for three hundred, but all that time our consciences have not let us rest content, so when the Nazis came we hated them for their comfortableness in doing that for which our consciences afflict us day and night.

Race relations are often complicated by economic considerations. White employers, particularly housewives, have recently hated Negroes for not needing work, for getting jobs which pay much higher wages than they have been receiving in the past. I can imagine women, ladies of the house, doing their own housework, and it occurs to me that every time such a one scrubs her floor, contrary to her former custom of having a maid do it, she becomes emotionally wrought up—filled with hatred for the whole Negro race because of her vanished servant. Such persons everywhere are no doubt anticipating with a quiet—or not so quiet—satisfaction, the day when they expect to see former servants and other employees crawling back and humbly begging for work. Thus are unchristian attitudes toward working people fostered.

"Look at the woman's feet," sourly remarked my bus seatmate. "You can always tell a 'nigger' by the feet. They have a peculiar shape." "Is it the shape which makes them win Olympic races?" I inquired innocently. Somewhat taken aback she added, after a moment, "My husband is always right. A long time ago he said we would have to fight the Germans and Japs some day and we did. Now he says the next war will be between the races, to put the Negroes in their places. They have gotten so uppity in this war."

Or consider this contribution to racial understanding and good will! "You can't tell me anything about the Chinese. We used to send our sheets to a Chinese laundryman," said a housewife. "Chinese," she adds, with the air of one who knows from experience, "are very honest, but not very bright. Perhaps they aren't bright enough to be crooked like the Japs. *They are tricky enough!*" Then she continued, "A friend of mine had a Jap cook once. He was

¹ Ruth McK. Moore (Mrs. Alfred D. Moore) has been active in community social work for many years in Cincinnati, Nashville, and elsewhere.

a wonderful cook, and he did all the rest of the work too. But once on his day off she went into his room and what do you think she found in his trunk?" (Not a word of condemnation for the lack of manners, not to mention ethics, of a woman who snoops among another person's private belongings!) "Knives! Lots of them. . . . Well, five anyway, and they were very sharp. So when he came back she asked him what they were for and he said he used them to carve. He was a wonderful cook, as I said, and always served everything very well, so she decided to believe him. Anyway cooks were hard to get, but I wouldn't have kept him in the house for five minutes. I don't trust those Japs half as far as I can see them."

American Policy in China

CHU TANG¹

The crisis in China has become one of the burning issues of the day. It is not strange that American Christians, who have done so much to bring modern education, medicine, and science to China are alarmed by the threat of fratricidal war.

Nevertheless, the people of the United States have a moral obligation to see to it that the American government does not encourage or assist civil war in China by supplying partisan aid. The people must insist that no American equipment, lend-lease or otherwise, be used to slaughter any Chinese; that no American transportation facilities be employed to move troops of any one side from one place to another to engage in civil war; and that the government lives up to what the President publicly pronounced to be our policy—that of not intervening in the internal affairs of any nation, recognizing that the people of all nations have the right to choose whatever form of government they wish.

After eight years of war forced upon them by Japanese aggression, the Chinese people today need peace above everything else. Without peace, China cannot recover from Japanese aggression, cannot rebuild, cannot carry out any educational program, cannot introduce democratic reforms, and cannot be industrialized. If peace is desirable in the world, the one country that most urgently needs peace is China. However, it must be realized that only the Chinese people themselves can establish peace in China. Peace cannot be established by the intervention of any outside power—that of the United States or any other nation.

The China of 1945 is somewhat similar to the United States of 1782 when the War of Independence was won but unity among the Thirteen Colonies was yet to be forged. It is a mistake to compare China today with the United States of 1860 when Lincoln fought the war to preserve the Union, because China has not yet achieved unity. The national government, to quote Walter Lippman, "is in theory the national government of China; but in fact it is not the government of all of China." The political solution for China today is not military unification, but a democratic coalition in which not only the Kuomintang and the Communists, but all liberal and democratic Chinese groups participate. Attempted military unification in 1945 in China is bound to fail, just as military unification would have failed miserably if America's revolutionary fathers had been so unwise as to have attempted it.

Eighty per cent of the population of China are peasants. Whoever has the support of the peasants has the majority of the people with him. On the same premise, whoever succeeds in improving the livelihood of the peasants succeeds in raising the standard of living of the people as a whole. This is exactly where the strength of the Chinese

We know that the thwartings and frustrations of childhood cause stunted personalities in adults and that people tend to be kind in proportion to their own happiness. Women will be catty if unhappy, just as men will be surly. During the war so many of us were lonesome and worried that we have a residue of tension which will be a long time evaporating. This tension is a factor in the increase of race antagonisms in our country at the present time.

Realizing then that race prejudice is common to men and women, to old and young, we should also remember that good will is equally widespread and that Christians who desire to help can try to nourish the good will latent in every man and to direct it toward his brother—particularly if that brother be of another race.

Communists lies. From eye-witness reports of American newspapermen and military and civilian observers, there is substantial unanimity of opinion that, regardless of what American political attitude toward the Chinese Communists may be, they do enjoy the popular support of the Chinese masses, and that they do have the interests of the Chinese peasantry on their hearts.

There is no question but what the Chinese Communists are Communists—that their thinking is Marxist, and that they analyze and draw conclusions from the Marxist point of view. But there is also no question but what their program for a long time to come is not a program of imposing Communism upon China, but is one of democratic reforms. That their program is practical and meets with the approval of the people can be seen from the fact that they succeeded in immobilizing 64 per cent of all the Japanese troops and 90 per cent of the 800,000 puppet troops in China during the war years when they received not the tiniest fraction of aid from America, and no guns, no medical supplies, and no financial help from Chungking. On the contrary, they were stringently blockaded by Chungking's best trained and best equipped troops.

The Communists today have under their control nineteen administrative areas, totalling 1,000,000 square miles with a population of 100,000,000 people. Throughout these areas, from the local county government to the border regions' administration, the people have elected their own officials. And, in order to encourage the people to participate in the government, the Communist party have limited themselves to not more than one-third of the members of any elected or appointed bodies. In the field of economic affairs, the Communists have introduced reforms to cut rent and interest rates, at the same time guaranteeing their payment. Private enterprise is encouraged. Landlords who sold their land to the peasants to invest in industries are exempted from taxes. Government employees, officers, and men of the army are required to participate in farming and spinning so as to lighten the burden of the tax payers. In 1944 the city government of Yen-an, for instance, got 50 per cent of its municipal expenditures from the products of the labor of its civil servants and army officers and men. The Communists also initiated the system of labor exchange among the peasants, a system, by the way, which is not a novelty but an ancient practice originating during the Han Dynasty in the early days of Chinese history. By pooling their labor and equipment and dividing their crops according to the amount of land owned and the labor contributed by each family, the peasants have been able to triple their harvest in the last two years. Because of these practical reforms, it is not strange that foreign correspondents who have visited the Communist areas have reported the people living there the best-clothed and the best-fed in all of China, despite con-

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UAW-GM Bargaining Relations

(Unabridged text of the Report of the National Citizens Committee on the GM-UAW, CIO dispute.)

Because of the importance to the whole country of the issues involved in the current work stoppages in the General Motors Corporation, we were glad to accept the invitation of the UAW-CIO to examine the transcript of its negotiations and to inquire into the problems raised thereby. We have also sought and received from the Corporation materials setting forth more fully its position. C. E. Wilson, President of the General Motors Corporation; H. W. Anderson, Vice-President; R. J. Thomas, President of the UAW-CIO, and Walter P. Reuther, Vice-President; were invited to present further information to the Committee in person. Mr. Thomas' office informed the Committee that he was out of the city. Mr. Reuther appeared and answered questions put to him by the Committee. The Corporation did not respond to the invitation.

The Committee has read the 739-page record of the negotiations between the Corporation and the Union and has sought all available information on both sides of the controversy.

Our review of this very complex and strategic industrial controversy leads us to believe that the public should be more fully apprised of certain facts. The members of this Committee have reached a number of conclusions which they hope may contribute to the public understanding of the controversy and to the measures necessary for effecting a just and prompt settlement of the issues. We have neither been asked, nor have we sought, to serve as conciliators or otherwise to usurp the functions of the active government agencies in this matter. But in view of the apparent stalemate in negotiations and mounting losses from the continuing stoppages, we deem it proper to express our opinion on the issues.

As background for consideration of the issues, we here present a summary of the contentions of each side of the controversy.

The contention of the parties

For the Union: The controversy arose over the Union's proposal of a 30 per cent wage increase under the terms of its existing contract with the Corporation. Part of this increase, it urged, should be allocated to an equalization fund to make wage rates more uniform throughout the Corporation, part to a social security fund, and the balance to a blanket increase in all hourly wage rates. The Union asked this wage increase to make up for reductions in take-home pay resulting from shorter hours and downgrading of workers, and to advance the general purchasing power necessary to support full employment.

A cardinal point in the Union's proposal was that this increase be granted without any increase in the prices of General Motors' products. It submitted much data in support of its contention that the Corporation can afford such raises, while keeping present prices, and still earn high profits. Increased volume of output, tax reductions, new equipment and higher labor productivity were analyzed in detail. Union estimates suggested that price reductions might even be possible if volume is as high as recently predicted by the President of General Motors.

The Union constantly reiterated its willingness to reconsider its 30 per cent proposal if the "arithmetic" of the Corporation's financial condition showed such a wage boost would necessitate price relief or undue profit cuts. *It refused to eliminate from the negotiations the consideration of the effects of its wage demands on prices and profits and requested Corporation data to show what these effects would be.* It elaborated an argument for stable prices and rising purchasing power as necessary to the health of the highly productive American economy.

In the final stages, the Union offered to refer the issues to arbitration for a binding decision, after rejecting the Corporation's counter proposals (noted hereafter) on the ground: (1) that the first proposal (that the work week be increased from 40 to 45 hours) would contravene federal legal standards for hours of work and would increase unemployment, and (2) that the second (an offer of a wage increase of 10 per cent) was predicated on the Corporation's plan to seek higher prices to meet the added wage cost. It asked for the Corporation's answer within 24 hours to the proposal of the arbitration principle.

For the Corporation: The Corporation rejected the proposal of the Union for a 30 per cent increase in wages, stating that this would bring a general increase in costs that would necessitate a 30 per cent rise in prices and lead to inflation. It derided the Union's computation of Corporation profits, expected costs, volume of production, and labor productivity. It emphasized the value of low prices and the key role of high production levels in achieving them and argued that the possibility of high levels of profit is an essential element in the American economic system.

The Corporation submitted *general figures* to contradict the Union's estimates, *but declined to furnish the detailed components on which these general figures were based on the ground that this was not a proper subject of inquiry for the Union.*

The Corporation's representatives constantly urged the Union to eliminate questions of prices and profits and to confine the collective bargaining to the wage issue. It denied that the effects of wage increases on profitability was a proper subject for negotiations with the Union and refused to make any wage increase offer tied to an agreement not to raise prices. Prices, like profits, it urged, are the Corporation's, not the Union's business. It characterized the Union's effort to bargain on these matters as unwarranted invasions of management's province. It also introduced material which suggested that unionism in America should be reduced in the scope of its bargaining power.

The Corporation also offered counter-proposals of (1) six per cent wage increases along with a change in the wage and hours law to make 45 hours the standard work week in place of the present 40-hour provision; (2) wage increases sufficient to make up for the cost of living increases since 1941 of about 10 per cent. Both proposals were to be free of any stipulation as to prices.

The Corporation rejected the Union's proposal for arbitration on the ground that the terms of the proposal would represent an "abdication" by management.

Findings and recommendations of the Citizens Committee

1. After reading the transcript of the negotiations between General Motors and the UAW-CIO, we believe it would be a contribution to public understanding of the dispute if the transcript were published.

2. The Committee was impressed by the serious and statesmanlike approach of the representatives of the Union as shown in the transcript of the negotiations. If President Truman and his advisors had had access to this record, we believe they would have been in a position to insist more firmly on the full use of the collective bargaining process before suggesting intervention of the government. We believe that the full possibilities of collective bargaining have not yet been exhausted, and that it is not too late to renew the efforts toward a voluntary settlement. We urge that the two parties immediately resume negotiations.

3. The Union's request to participate in a determination of the wage issue on the basis of full knowledge of the basic wage-price-profit relations is not a "taking over" of management. This request is based on a principle widely

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Social Issues in Today's World

The General Welfare

7,000 MOTHERS EACH YEAR DIE NEEDLESSLY, says the Children's Bureau of the Department of Labor. Even so, the record is far better than in 1933 when 63 deaths per 10,000 live births occurred. The 1943 record was 24 deaths per 10,000 live births. The improvement, according to Dr. Martha M. Eliot, associate chief of the bureau, is due to better care of women during pregnancy, at childbirth, and after delivery. Improvement in the economic status of many families, increased provision for hospitalization, and the extension of maternal and childhealth services under the Social Security program are also important factors. "But," says Dr. Eliot, "the record is still not good enough, for thousands of the 118,000 babies and of the 7,000 mothers whose lives are lost each year die needlessly. *If the care we know so well how to give were available to all groups of the population in all parts of the country we could cut still further the present tragic loss of life.*" To make that good care available to all is the purpose of the national health program advocated by President Truman in his recent message to Congress, and likewise the purpose of bills introduced months ago in Congress, now moribund in Committees. Why should the United States lag behind other nations in meeting such an essential need? Great Britain, following the lead of Russia, is preparing to make medical care of every kind available to all its people entirely free of cost. How long will the people continue to be hoodwinked by the misrepresentations of the American Medical Association and the propaganda of the voodoo patent medicine manufacturers? Women more than men suffer the consequences of deficient medical attention, which in itself is sufficient reason for them to enlist wholeheartedly in a nationwide movement to make "the care we know so well how to give available to all."

"HOUSING IS PUBLIC ENEMY NUMBER ONE."

So declares a national woman church leader who has studied the delinquency in her community as well as the figures on homes and population. A visiting teacher tells a story of a family of nine children who were delinquent and destructive. No agency would rent them a house. They were the despair of city and school officials. Finally, a welfare agency through an interested individual found them a large and comfortable home. They began as a group to find furniture and furnishings. Delinquency ceased and they are becoming a respected family of the community. Within the past sixteen years only a total of one normal year's housing units has been constructed, while others have fast deteriorated. Recently, before a Congressional committee, a consumer related the experience of her returning son, who, finding no place to take his bride, is forced to bring her home; and the returning daughter and son-in-law in the same straits are coming home also. The three families living in one house automatically cancels the lease given for one family.

Twelve and one-half million homes, says the National Housing Agency, are needed right now. One and one-half million servicemen have married and most of them are looking for some place to live. Governor Earl Warren asserted at a state housing clinic on Dec. 10 that California has a "desperate" housing shortage and looks to Federal agencies as its "life preservers." An Associated Press survey made in December indicates that 500 thousand persons in the state of New York alone need homes. New York City is short 75 thousand housing units. A similar situation exists in other large cities. The private-profit agencies have never built more than one million units in any one year and in 1946, with prevailing shortage of building materials, cannot supply more than 450 thousand

units. The problem has not developed suddenly. It began with the backlog of need accumulated during and following World War I. After the Armistice in 1918 all prices dropped for a few months and building started. Then prices began to rise. Without Federal control of price levels building materials reached 238 per cent above prewar prices. Building ceased and comparatively little has been done since. NHA estimates that 90 per cent of the non-farm dwellings required within the next 10 years must cost less than \$8,000 or rent for less than \$80; that two-thirds of them must cost \$5,000 or less or rent for less than \$50. The *Architectural Forum* said last September that 2.7 million families are ready to buy or build. Of these, 70 per cent have incomes under \$4,000. If building costs are upped \$1,000 or more, 49 per cent will be out of the market. Already prices have soared in some areas over 100 per cent. The Federal Home Loan Bank Administration recently reported West Coast sales of homes running 134 per cent of earlier HOLC appraisals. An NHA survey found prices of single family units in certain cities 42 per cent over 1940. The OPA found that in July purchasers of homes from which tenants had been evicted because of sale paid 45 per cent above the normal price.

Following World War I, rents by 1925 across the nation averaged 66 per cent above the prewar level. The writer has a vivid memory of a necessitated move in 1926 from a six-room house renting for \$60 a month to a smaller six-room apartment renting for \$175.

The real-estate industry has set up one of the most vociferous and toughest lobbies in Washington. High pressure has been turned on. Immediately following V-J day the lobby went into action against L 41, the WPB order which channeled materials to houses costing \$8,000 or less. Its death knell was sounded by John W. Snyder, OWMR head. On October 16, the day after L 41 was lifted, Congressman Patman told of a Washington, D. C., builder who had been one of the most vigorous opponents of the order who had made \$50,000 overnight by raising the price of 50 new homes, built under the \$8,000 price limit, to \$9,000. A Miami builder had upped the price on a home from \$8,000 to \$16,000. Other like cases, almost without number, could be related.

The OPA, now under fire from various quarters, must be continued with no further restriction of its authority. Probably the greatest danger is little-by-little limitation of its powers. Congressman Patman has introduced a bill (H. R. 4761) which provides, in brief, that until Dec. 31, 1947, there shall be (1) a director of housing stabilization with power to study the situation and to act. (2) That in order to prevent speculation and allow the sale of houses for living purposes, the last sale of the house after the enactment of the bill shall be considered the ceiling price. (3) The sale price of new houses shall be established on the basis of the cost of construction, fair evaluation of the land, and margin of profit comparable to 1941 profit on a similar unit. (4) That scarce building material be allocated for low cost housing; and that preference in buying material be given to the returning service men. (5) That in areas of extreme need, where building needs are not being met otherwise, the Director be allowed to subsidize low cost home building.

Knowing the pressure power of the trades that will lobby against this bill, only concerted effort of the people can get the bill enacted. In writing to Congressmen, let them know that you understand the purpose of the bill. Show its need by citing the over-crowding in your own city or town. Give figures of high inflation in building costs and in the sale prices of present houses. Stress also that rent control must be continued until there is a sufficient supply of housing units in the community to hold prices steady. The OPA

has now a dollars and cents ceiling on building materials and services which offers protection from inflation if Americans have the insight to continue the OPA beyond next June.

The need now is the expression of public opinion from every community on the side of human needs. *Write your Congressman!*

"DO YOU HEAR THE CHILDREN CRYING?"—

"Hundreds of thousands of Europe's children will die this winter of hunger, cold, and privation unless we get help to them and get it there swiftly." Authority for this statement is no less a person than Katherine F. Lenroot, chief of the Children's Bureau of the Department of Labor. Returning to the United States recently from attendance upon the International Labor Conference in Paris, having subsequently made a personal observation tour of Germany, Miss Lenroot knows whereof she speaks. "Europe's children," she says, "are stunted in growth, underdeveloped in muscular coordination, and greatly retarded in schooling. . . . *Poland*: One child in nine of Poland's 7 million children under 14 has lost both parents; another one million have only one parent living. . . . *Netherlands*: Infant mortality is almost four times above normal. . . . *France*: Only little children have milk; meat is very limited; eggs are not to be had and serious protein deficiencies in diet exist. Infant mortality is more than double the normal figure. . . . The story is much the same for all Europe. Economic life is broken down; material resources have been destroyed; the physical resistance of the people, after these years of resistance, has been weakened. Families are separated. . . . If we in this country could only picture the conditions under which children are living in countries torn by the war, we would hasten relief in every possible way."

Use should be made of the new organization formed by twenty-two American relief agencies in the field of foreign service, of which Donald M. Nelson, formerly head of the War Production Board, is executive director. CARE (Co-operative for American Remittances to Europe) will rush foodstuffs from individuals and organizations to needy persons in Europe in the shortest possible time. Remittances in any amount may be sent. Address, 50 Broad St., New York, N. Y.

Race Relations

PRECEDENT AGAINST RACIAL DISCRIMINATION ESTABLISHED.—An important precedent was recently recorded when the Texas and Pacific Railroad agreed to pay \$1,000 for a release from all claims advanced against it in the case of Mrs. Yolanda Barnett Wilkerson, Program Secretary for Interracial Education, National Student Council, Y.W.C.A. *vs.* the railroad for assault and violation of the civil rights law.

Mrs. Wilkerson, Negro educator, relates the essential facts: "I was travelling from St. Louis to Dallas aboard the Sunshine Special. Going through Texas on February 11, 1944, I went to the diner for breakfast. Although there were many empty seats I was told by the steward that I could not be served at that time. He explained that I would have to sit in the Jim Crow section. I agreed to do so, but because two white persons happened to be having breakfast at one of the tables in the section I was refused service until after they had finished. I was asked to leave the diner and wait on the outside. I preferred to stand on the inside. While waiting, the train conductor came through, conversed with the steward, and without questioning me, ejected me by force from the diner. After being ejected from the diner I went to my seat in the Pullman Car. About a half hour later, the steward came to me and told me I could be served. I refused, saying I had been subjected to rough and humiliating treatment which I would have to report to the railway officials. When the incident was reported to the National Board by the Y.W.C.A. it decided to back me

in my fight against the T. and P. R. R. A complaint was served on the railroad by legal counsel on March 24, 1944. In April, 1944, a complaint was also filed with the Interstate Commerce Commission on which hearings were held in Dallas, Texas, in November, 1944. In July, 1945, the Commission handed down a ruling in which it avoided the discrimination issue and held that half an hour was not too long to wait for dining car service in wartime. Meanwhile in June, 1944, a judge of the Federal District Court in New York City ruled that the New York courts lacked jurisdiction in the case since the company "did not do business" in the State. An appeal against this ruling was filed. In November, 1944, the Circuit Court of Appeals reversed the lower court ruling by a two-to-one decision, *thereby establishing New York court jurisdiction in the case.* The trial was set for November 19, 1944, but when the company offered to pay \$1,000 for a release from all claims advanced against it, on the insistence of legal counsel I accepted with genuine reluctance this monetary settlement of my suit. Expenses exceeded the amount of settlement."

SOCIAL QUESTIONS BULLETIN commends Mrs. Wilkerson for her initiative and courage in resisting the indignity offered because of her race and in bringing the case to trial, and congratulates the National Board, Y.W.C.A., on their action. The case has established a significant legal precedent against racial discrimination in interstate transportation; has also established the right of persons suffering abuse at the hands of southern railway employees to sue the responsible corporations in the courts of northern states; and has served a warning upon southern companies that they can no longer discriminate against Negro passengers with impunity. The basic issue raised by the case, Mrs. Wilkerson says, "will be fought over and over again, until the right of Negro citizens to travel with dignity on southern railroads is the unchallenged law and practice of our nation." We earnestly hope that this statement will prove to be true.

INTERRACIAL TENSION FAILS TO DEVELOP

to anything like the extent predicted, as Japanese evacuees return to the California communities where they previously lived, now largely occupied by Negroes. By November 1 some 1,300 individual Japanese-Americans, of which about 600 were in family groups had returned to the San Francisco area. By Christmas, it has been expected, several thousand would have returned to Northern California. Wholesale evictions of Negro families from former Japanese-occupied properties, it has been predicted, would take place. Thus far there have been very few. In San Francisco, when the Japanese were relocated in 1941, the released housing space was taken over almost wholly by the expanding Negro population. Many business buildings, store fronts, and shops were partitioned into cubby-hole living quarters and rented at extortionate prices to war-workers' families. Yet, in spite of the desperate shortage, almost without exception Negro tenants have shown a sympathetic attitude toward returning Japanese neighbors. Writing in *The Crisis* for November, Thelma Thurston Gorham cites specific evidence of friendliness: "Negro neighbors of a Nisei dentist and his wife in Oakland were among the first to welcome them back to their home. A Nisei couple reported that on a train en route home from a relocation center the friendliest person they encountered was a Negro train porter. In San Mateo, Issei and Nisei reported to the WRA that Negro occupants had kept their home immaculate and had taken remarkable care of their possessions. Former Negro clients welcomed a Nisei dentist back to his office in San Francisco. One Japanese girl came back to San Francisco to live temporarily with Negroes who had been her family's neighbors. Others followed suit. Now many Negro families throughout the Peninsula area have taken Japanese into their homes."

TOTAL REVERSION TO DISCRIMINATION

in employment is threatened unless the permanent FEPC bill is quickly passed. All but three regional Fair Employ-

ment Practice Committee offices were closed on December 15, due to reduced appropriations last summer. The National Council for a Permanent FEPC is asking that wires go to President Truman, Senator Wallace White, and your own Senators, requesting an immediate answer on a proposed date for Senate floor action on S. 101 which is high on the Senate calendar and could be called up any time the Administration and the Republican leadership in the Senate are willing to do it. Senate support for cloture is also being sought to prevent a filibuster when it comes to the floor for consideration.

Labor Concern

WOMEN WANT TO RETAIN WARTIME JOBS, according to a survey conducted by the Women's Bureau in the Baltimore area. Of the 165 thousand women workers in the area, 132 thousand wished to continue working. Only one in five planned to give up her wartime job. Self-support was the primary reason given. Other economic reasons included saving for a child's education and payment on a home acquired during wartime employment. Twice as many women want to keep on working in manufacturing plants and in government agencies as were employed in these in 1940. Average weekly take-home pay in war plants was \$34, as compared with \$21 in stores and laundries.

HOW WOULD GM LIKE THIS ALTERNATIVE?

—Since a flat increase of 30 per cent in wages is so repugnant to the corporation we suggest that UAW, as an alternative proposal, press for an annual workers' bonus of 30 per cent of the net profits. It has been a round 100 years since employers first inaugurated profit-sharing as an equitable principle. In Cuba the government of Ramon Grau San Martin is sponsoring a move to accelerate the trend. Representative Felix Martin, a member of the president's party, has introduced a bill in the House of Representatives which provides that all industrial, commercial, and agricultural enterprises shall give their workers a minimum of 30 per cent of their net profits as an annual bonus.

It is asserted that \$1,000 invested in ten shares of GM stock in 1917 have brought the investor \$930 a year in dividends and increase in value—a 93 per cent return. Why is the company not concerned to do somewhere near as well by its workers as by its shareholders? Its managerial pay is somewhat more than reasonably generous! Thirty-two GM executives are paid salaries in excess of President Truman's \$75,000 a year. President Charles E. Wilson's pay check, according to figures recently released by the U. S. Treasury Department, is \$459,041 a year; that of Ormond E. Hunt, V.P., \$359,519; and of Albert Bradley, V.P., \$350,519. In the light of these facts *how long will the American public agree that company profits—and managers' salaries—are none of its business?*

Rural Welfare

RURAL LIFE NOT SO SIMPLE.—A woman writing from her home on a New Jersey farm says that her great aim in life is to secure emotional poise—that is, to be a person. She finds life is not so simple as ministers often insist that it is—that tasks, problems, strains come one at a time and one needs only to meet each as it comes. Writing to Dr. A. C. Dieffenbach, she says, "To tell one who is trying at the same time to please husband and children, while she also works in the garden, cares for the animals, cans fruits, meats and vegetables, goes to the store, cleans the house, sews and cooks, that her problems come to her only one at a time seems to me ridiculous." Her task seems to her to be that of choosing between the essential and the unessential, and to do this with constancy is at

once to prove and to establish serene personality in the midst of all distractions.

BETTER GET THAT STORM CELLAR READY!—

Prospects are for a drop of 3 billion dollars in farm income in 1946 as compared with 1945, according to the testimony of Commerce Secretary Henry A. Wallace before a House Committee recently. A relatively prosperous period is foreseen until 1950—then look out for a serious economic crisis!

"From 1945 to 1946 there will be a reduction of about \$25 billions in the flow of income to labor," he said. "After we get over the reconversion 'hump,' we expect some recovery in salaries and wages in 1947 and 1948, but by 1950, with demand for consumers' durables and business capital expenditures falling, labor income goes down as well."

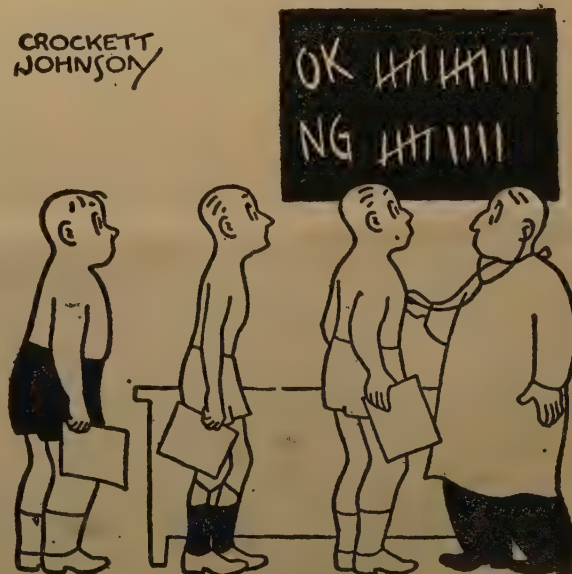
"The agricultural recession," he added, referring to a chart showing farm owners' net income, "would be an estimated reduction between 1945 and 1946 of nearly \$3 billions; a further reduction in 1947 of another \$1½ billions, and then going ahead at about \$8 billions of net income for agriculture."

NOT SO VERY HEALTHY FARM FOLKS.—

Much misunderstanding exists concerning the health status of farm people, according to Gladys Talbott Edwards, Director of Education of National Farmers Union. "We have been told for so long that farm people are the healthiest in the world that we do not stop to realize that this is not true. Farm people suffer from malnutrition as much as city people. Rural areas have a higher death rate in pneumonia, diphtheria and a number of other diseases, than do city people. There is a higher infant death rate in rural areas than in the city and the same is true of the maternity death rate.

We need a health program which will bring clinics, health centers, doctors, nurses, mobile units, ambulances and hospitals where every farm family can have access to them. Whether this is done through a tax-supported program, as in the Pepper Bill for Maternal Child Welfare, or as health care is given to the members of the armed services in war time, or through an insurance program such as is offered by the Wagner-Murray-Dingell Bill, or through a cooperative program such as the Farmers Union Hospital at Elk City, Oklahoma, or through a cooperative and government program such as Farm Security has sponsored,

CROCKETT
JOHNSON



—Courtesy of Physicians' Forum

it must be done! Health is a public responsibility just as education is a public responsibility and no citizen should be deprived of health care because he is not financially able to pay for it."

Cooperation

A NEW COOPERATIVE HEALTH CENTER was organized by two hundred farmers and townsmen meeting in the high school auditorium at Pelican Rapids, Minnesota, recently. This is the tenth cooperative hospital organized in the U. S. A. and the second in Minnesota. A modern hospital and health center to cost 100 thousand dollars will be built providing hospital and medical care under direction of a competent staff of doctors and technicians. Membership will be \$50 per family and the institution is to be capitalized at 250 thousand dollars.

CREDIT FOR COOPERATIVE ENTERPRISE in Brazil has been inaugurated by the establishment in Rio de Janeiro of a Cooperative Credit Bank. The bank, *World-over Press* reports, will encourage many types of cooperative enterprise. Its funds will be used to purchase industrial and agricultural machinery and equipment, to buy seeds, fertilizer and insecticide, and to promote the breeding of better live stock. It will finance the building of schools, hospitals, founding homes and workers' houses as well as aqueducts and dikes to improve the land. The initial capital will come partly from government sources and partly from Co-op organizations, and will be augmented by donations from interested individuals.

COOPERATIVE UNION OF CANADA, as a Federation of Provincial Cooperative Unions, was set up in a meeting held in Winnipeg, Nov. 26-28. The Union has set 500 thousand new members in 1946 as its first-year goal and approved a widespread program of publicity and organization to bring cooperative membership in Canada up to 1.5 million by the close of the year. A. B. MacDonald told the delegates that a sound cooperative economy cannot be hoped for "until there is closer cooperation between urban and rural cooperatives. Father M. M. Coady, director of the St. Francis Xavier Extension Department, Antigonish, declared: "For the first time in history we have found the technique by which we can carry on the economic activities of society without exacting any tribute from our fellow human beings. The toll-bridge idea in economic affairs, like its counterpart in transportation, can be relegated to the limbo of forgotten things."

LITTLE GRASP OF COOPERATIVE PRINCIPLES is possessed by farm women in general. This is a conclusion reached by Professor W. H. Anderson, Department of Rural Sociology of Cornell University, Ithaca, New York, on the basis of a survey which he conducted. Five hundred women, chiefly wives of farm owners but also some wives of farm tenants and farm laborers, were interviewed. One area was selected because it is considered good cooperative marketing territory; the second, an average area; and the third rather poor territory for cooperative activities. "Women who are members of co-ops, however, have more facts and more accurate information than do women who are not members." Three times as many co-op members as non-members expressed opinions on the subject, and their opinions were generally sounder than those of non-members. Of those who responded to questions concerning the general advantages or disadvantages of cooperation, 31 per cent were favorable; 2 per cent were definitely opposed; and 67 per cent were neutral in their attitude. It is this extensive neutrality that presents the big challenge to cooperative education.

Spiritual Preparation for Social Action

JOHN KNOX

(Digest of an address delivered at the Eleventh Institute on Socio-Religious Affairs, Paine College, Augusta, Georgia.)

A. N. Whitehead has defined culture as activity of thought, sensitiveness to beauty, and humane feeling. He would agree with St. Paul that the last of these is most important. The highest end of human good, however stated, always means "the greatest of these is love."

This age has known a revival of cruelty. Such desolation has been wrought in the world that only those partially callous can bear to live at all. High organization in the economic world has forced people into poverty. Tightened class lines divide the nation. Racial hatred raises its head in the politest company. Never has humane feeling stood in more deadly peril. To some love would not be love were they not willing to oppose with arms the forces who would extinguish it. To others love would not be love if they used instruments of destruction. But soldier and pacifist must agree that their one aim is to preserve and extend that humane feeling which undergirds all good.

A person who has humane feeling will be truly catholic. He will recognize that each individual and group has a contribution to make. He will see clearly that racial and class lines do not constitute barriers, though prejudice would make them seem so. He will have no snobbery, no cruelty. He will set his face against injustice in high and low places, and he would rather die than condone falsity.

We are inheritors of the Hebrew tradition. The supremely important thing about each of us is the relation in which he stands to God. If we have forgotten this, we have left our religious tradition and joined the secular forces which threaten to overwhelm the world. When we consider our relation to God the supreme part of our lives, then we think first of others in their relation to God. God cares nothing for the American, German, Nordic, or Negro; he cares for us as men. His love for me is no greater than his love for others, and he loves in me what he sees in all others. That God is father of us all seems a truism, but it is the most revolutionary statement ever made. Jesus suffered for all. His "Father forgive them" showed an attainment of the highest spirit, and his "for they know not what they do" shows the greatest insight into human weakness.

We are more than inheritors of the Hebrew tradition; we are Christians. No one else has ever had such a hold on the hearts of men. Others have been equally worshipped, but not so loved. His courage, his suffering, his ardor for high purposes, his sympathy, make us love and follow him. Jesus the Jew and man judges us today. But he is more than man. His followers saw in his death a strange divine event, a new and great revelation of God. He had fellowship with his disciples after his death, and still does today. In his love we cannot have prejudice.

This universalism may seem remote from our life today, but this is not true. The perfect world must wait, but the better world can come. We would not mitigate the darkness around us, but out of it must come a world of less prejudice and less division. If it is our destiny to spend all our days in battle with no chance to build the foundations of a new order, we must not fail to keep the hope of a better world flaming in our hearts and to pass on this hope to our children after us.

Office Secretary Wanted

A competent, experienced Office Secretary, man or woman, with broad social interests, to begin February 1. For full particulars address, Methodist Federation for Social Service, Room 402, 150 Fifth Ave., New York 11, N. Y.

UAW-GM Bargaining Relations

(Continued from page 9)

approved by responsible leaders of business, labor, and government. Although the setting of actual prices remains a managerial function, at a time when there is a threat of inflation the level of prices becomes a matter of legitimate public concern.

4. If collective bargaining fails to result in a settlement, we recommend that any fact-finding commission appointed by the President be authorized and directed to determine what increase in wages can be given on the basis of the Corporation's ability to pay without increase in prices. The Corporation's ability to meet a wage increase is a sound factor in the determination of wages, both in good times and bad.

5. From the record it is clear that the Union in its refusal to accept a wage increase that involves price increase has lifted the whole matter of collective bargaining to a new high level by insisting that the advancement of Labor's interest shall not be made at the expense of the public. The Union has shown a sense of social responsibility that indicates its growing maturity and is certainly to be commended. The public has a vital interest in holding the line of present prices against inflation.

6. Because of confusion in the public mind, the Committee wishes to emphasize that the record of the proceedings clearly shows that the Union's proposition was not "30 per cent or else." The transcript repeatedly shows that the Union's 30 per cent demand was subject to reconsideration if and when management proved the 30 per cent wage increase was impossible without a raise in prices.

7. Considerable data from the General Motors Corporation and U. S. Government reports were submitted by the Union in support of its contention that the Corporation can afford a substantial wage increase without raising prices. Outside of a flat denial supported by figures based upon sources not open to the Union, to this Committee or to the public, no convincing evidence has been submitted by the Corporation to show that the Union's wage proposal cannot be met.

8. While future profits cannot be computed with absolute certainty, it is common practice to base the prospects of them upon experience and estimated volume and costs. The Union is asking that wages be projected in such a forecast as other cost factors and profits are projected. It is the consensus of the Committee that the Union is making a legitimate claim in asking that wages be negotiated in terms of future expectations.

9. With regard to the Union's 24-hour ultimatum on the acceptance of arbitration, the public should be reminded that the ultimatum was on the question of the willingness of the Corporation to arbitrate and not on the basic wage demands, which would have required longer consideration.

10. The Committee reviewed carefully the Union's supporting argument for the maintenance of take-home pay. It was based on the thesis that purchasing power must be commensurate with production. The Committee agrees with this principle of wages since without adequate purchasing power to buy the products of industry there can be neither full employment nor general prosperity.

Members of National Committee

Chairman: Dr. Henry Hitt Crane,¹ Central Methodist Church, Detroit, Michigan; **Vice-Chairman:** Dr. Harry A. Overstreet, College of the City of New York, New York City; **Secretary:** Mrs. J. Birdsall Calkins, National President, YWCA, New York City; Professor Ernest W. Burgess, Professor of Sociology, University of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois; Rabbi Leon Fram, Temple Israel, Detroit,

¹ Henry Hitt Crane and Mrs. M. E. Tilly are members of the Executive Committee of MPSS. Asked by wire to add his personal comment on the report for inclusion in SOCIAL QUESTIONS BULLETIN his secretary replied: "Dr. Crane's personal convictions concerning this matter are so completely articulated in the text that any further word, he feels, would be superfluous."

Michigan; Robert E. Garrigan, Assistant Director, New Council of American Business, Washington, D. C.; John B. Hanna, Church Counsellor of the Council for Social Action of the Congregational Christian Churches in the U. S. A., New York City; Leon Henderson, Research Institute of America, Washington, D. C.; Mrs. Dorothy S. McAllister, National Consumers League, Grand Rapids, Michigan; Frank W. McCulloch, Director, James Mullenbach Industrial Institute, Chicago, Illinois; Mrs. Bonaro W. Overstreet, Author, Lecturer, New York City; Bishop William Scarlett, St. Louis, Missouri; Mrs. M. E. Tilly, Secretary, Christian Social Relations, Woman's Society of Christian Service, Southeastern Jurisdiction, the Methodist Church, Atlanta, Georgia; Walter White, Secretary, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, New York City.

Policy in China

(Continued from page 8)

tinuous annihilation campaigns conducted against them by the Japanese and the tight blockade imposed upon them by the Kuomintang.

Even their opponents today admit that the Communists are improving the lot of the people. The one objection raised against them is that they are an "armed political party." But this charge completely ignores the fact that the Kuomintang also is nothing but "an armed political party," and that, unfortunate as it is, no political group is an effective one in China today unless it is backed by force. To demand that the Communists give up their arms before the establishment of a genuinely democratic government is to demand that the Communists sign their own execution order.

By backing the Kuomintang oligarchy unconditionally, by handing the Kuomintang a blank check, by training and equipping its armies, by transporting those armies in American planes and ships to disputed areas, and by stationing American troops in those areas, the United States is taking sides in the present undeclared civil war, and is thus guilty of direct intervention in China's internal affairs on behalf of the Chungking one-party dictatorship. A further alarming aspect of this policy is the alienating of the friendship of the Chinese people and other peoples in Asia which has been laboriously cultivated in the course of years of hard work by untiring missionary and other cultural workers. It is in the interest of American democracy, and particularly of American international relations, that the American government take advantage of the splendid opportunity offered us by the resignation of General Hurley to depart from the recent policy of shameful intervention in the internal affairs of China.

Women and Child Care

(Continued from page 3)

tightening of divorce procedure, and the provision of subsidies for children all encourage more stable families.

The Dean of Canterbury makes quite a point of the place of children in Soviet society. They are considered "the future of the nation," and everything possible is done to develop their potentialities. "Children are our greatest happiness," and "Children are the flowers in the garden of life," are two Russian proverbs which express this attitude. The placing of a child in an infant or nursery school is not a rejection of the child in deference to the mother's rights. The schools are conducted with full cognizance of the child's need for affection and stimulation, and trained personnel supply a program to provide both. During the war standards had to be cut, but they are looking forward to achieving fully trained staffs in all the schools in

peace-time. As in the United States, home life is considered essential for the child and, except where the war has disrupted families, the child has his share of home life too. Adoptions of war orphans is encouraged and there has been a warm response to the appeal. The nursery school experience is considered beneficial to the child and learning to play together an important lesson for the future "communist" or "socialist" living. Nurseries, wherever possible, are located near factories so that parents may visit their children at noon or during recesses, and nursing mothers are given time off and lighter work during the nursing period. Collective farms have nurseries also to care for the children while their mothers work on the farm.

Soviet women are given three months maternity leave with pay, and all pre-natal, post-natal, and pediatric care is provided. There are also financial grants, a layette allowance and monthly subsidies during the first five years of the child's life. This again brings to mind the United Electrical Workers survey. They have secured maternity leave in some union contracts, having one of the best union records on this, but only about 13 per cent of their women are covered. In the Soviet Union pregnant women are assigned to lighter work and barred from overtime and night work although during the war many women waived these rights; one heroine was reported to have flown a combat plane about a month before her baby was born. Women are excluded from certain occupations thought to be hazardous for their health or future motherhood.

There are also other aids provided for family living, most of which have naturally suffered tremendously during the war. The thirty-hour week has been more of an ideal than a reality, both in the post-revolutionary period when the people worked day and night to build up their industrial power and during the battle to win the war. Cooperative stores in the plants and public family dining halls ease the shopping and cooking problems. Cooperative laundries provide service at reasonable prices. Small children are fed in nursery schools and school children given hot lunches in schools. This has proved to be a practical program and, with its benefits, Soviet women have achieved a combination of motherhood and community service which is definitely remarkable. Nobody pretends that perfection has been achieved, and the Soviet people themselves are constantly critical and desirous of improvements. Through the trade unions, which often adopt a nursery school or older children's club, contributions and criticisms are offered. They also keep in touch with the primary schools, health centers, and other places important in children's lives.

During the war I taught in a nursery for the children of mothers working in war work. The school was open from 6:30 in the morning until 6 at night and some of the children stayed the whole day. It was remarkable how well most of the children adjusted to this routine, but all of the teachers were disturbed at the situation. When mothers worked so many hours a day they could not possibly give the child the home life which he also needs. Ideally women, particularly mothers, should work no more than thirty hours a week. They would, of course, remembering that 82 per cent of women work for financial reasons, have to have a living wage for that amount of time. If we are going to be really ideal about the situation, fathers also should have a thirty-hour week. Many psychologists feel that we would have fewer neuroses if our family culture were less mother-centered and the father played a more active role in family life. If the father had a thirty-hour week he could accept a full half-share of the family responsibilities. Modern fathers are assuming more responsibility for the children and the household, but unfortunately, most of them just aren't around the home enough to participate fully.

Good nursery care and shorter hours would solve much for the working mother. After-school care for older chil-

dren would not be so important for the mother as she could be home from work at that time, but older children usually want to play out-doors after school rather than stay at home and seem to need after-school recreation centers. Children under two still are unprovided for. If a family wants four or more children, it takes a long time to get them all to nursery-school age. Does that mean that the mother must take ten or twelve years to stay at home with baby?

Let us consider first the mother of small children who has to work. In this article we have ignored the possibility of relief or public aid to dependent children, because the allowances are small and most women, judging from my contacts as a social worker, would prefer working to receiving these grants which were set up to enable them to stay at home with the children. If the grants were more adequate and there were less stigma of relief, perhaps they would be more successful. There is an appalling lack of good day-care for children under two. Social workers and educators say that these children are better off in the home, but that doesn't solve the problem. There is a great demand for babies for adoption, but mothers are unwilling—and rightly so—to give up their children completely. There is a lack of foster-homes for babies, and, as institutions are considered bad for babies, few modern ones have been developed. At a meeting of the Child Care Council of New York City on November 12 it was reported that two city hospitals, Lincoln and Metropolitan, have had to turn over space to well babies because there is no other place to send them. The children are kept strapped to their beds because the hospital just doesn't have the staff to supervise them. They are given routine physical care and a little attention from volunteers. The children are naturally a bewildered, emotionally deprived, retarded group. Surely good day-care centers with some home life is preferable to a situation like this. Personally I believe that children under two can adjust to day-care centers provided mothers have short working hours. Perhaps supplementary grants could be made to mothers to enable them to work less time and have enough leisure time at home with the child to satisfy his emotional needs.

Elizabeth Hawes in "Why Women Weep" has proposed a number of household aids for working women—modern, easily cleaned houses, good laundries, and, as public dining halls don't appeal much to American families, centers where hot main dishes can be bought already cooked.

Immediate legislative action must be taken in Congress on the extension of the Lanham Act to continue funds for nursery schools set up during the war if we are not to lose the network of already equipped and staffed schools all over the country. Senator Pepper has introduced a Maternal and Child Health bill which would set up a plan like the Army plan for servicemen's wives (which has worked very well) for the general public. It provides funds for hospitalization and doctor's fees in maternity cases and money for child health care throughout the country. Great progress has been made in reducing infant and maternal mortality through hospitalization, but more lives could be saved if hospital facilities could be extended to those now denied them. Congressmen should be petitioned for open hearings on the bill which is now buried in committee.

Thomas, Ramspeck, and Hill have written a very good bill on child care which the Child Care Council considers the best of the bills pending. It will be introduced by Senator Thomas and will need support.

In the state of New York petitions are being sent to Governor Dewey to continue state aid for nursery schools which is due to expire March 31. The legislature is being asked to set up a permanent program of nursery schools in the state. In New York City several groups are working to make nursery groups permanent parts of all new housing projects and to have them included in all new school buildings. Perhaps other communities might do the same.

Memorial Circulating Library

Years ago MFSS had a Circulating Library of books on social philosophy, social problems, and current social issues—chiefly books not commonly found in public libraries. During the past year there has been considerable demand for the reestablishment of a Library of this kind. Toward this project the Rev. H. M. Ratliff, on behalf of himself and his son—a lieutenant in the U. S. army, in overseas service—has made a generous offer of \$100 as a memorial to his wife, who died suddenly a few months ago. Mrs. Ratliff was a deeply devoted member of the Federation, active in behalf of numerous social causes. To this gift Dr. Edgar A. Love has offered to add \$25. Five hundred dollars, as a minimum, is needed to launch the project in a worthy manner. Contributions of any amount will be welcomed and will be announced in the BULLETIN from month to month as received.

Christian Social Relations, 1946

THELMA STEVENS

The program of the annual meeting of the Department of Christian Social Relations, WSCS, held at Buck Hill Falls, Pa., Nov. 26-Dec. 2, was planned around the central need for finding more effective ways of influencing public opinion, and effecting social change. The stage was set by Mr. Edward L. Bernays, Public Relations Specialist from New York. His broad experience in propaganda methods for molding public opinion brought specific help on the basic philosophy and techniques underlying the job ahead for Methodist women in the field of social action. All other sessions of the Department meeting were planned to implement this idea in practical ways of work.

A special panel was presented with representatives from five national church and community agencies with similar purpose, namely, the Young Women's Christian Association, the Woman's Action Committee, the U. S. Children's Bureau, the United Council of Church Women, and the Federal Council of Churches. This panel discussion attempted to show the scope of the programs promoted by community agencies and church groups, indicating their function on a national and local level. Later in the program, Richard Fagley of the Federal Council of Churches addressed the group on the topic "Building a World Mind." This was followed by a timely discussion of "Next Steps for the Church." As a result of the days of work together a far-reaching and timely program of action for 1946 was recommended.

Among the specific items outlined in the program, the following may well be listed as *timely highlights* for the year: (1) A National Seminar on "Rural Community Living and Changing Social Frontiers," at DePauw University, Greencastle, Ind., July 3-17, jointly planned and sponsored by the Department of Christian Social Relations and the Bureau of Town and Country Work, which will give attention to the problems of Economic Rehabilitation of the Rural Community, New Trends in Rural Education, Adjustments in Rural Family Life, A New Evangelism and the Rural Community, and a specific program of action related to such needs. The number in attendance at the seminar will be limited to 100 carefully selected leaders from across the country. (2) A special study in the field of Alcohol Education for use in 1946-47 is being prepared and will be available by June, 1946. (3) Recognizing the need for creating a constructive basis for understanding and goodwill between Russia and the United States, the Department will make available special study materials on Russia for the use of Methodist women in 1946. (4) Guidance will also be given Methodist women in the study and action program related to employment of women in this crucial postwar period. (5) In full recognition of the need to capitalize on gains made in race relations in the war period, a pamphlet-questionnaire for the use of local groups is being prepared as "an inquiry to determine gains made during the war in the area of Race Relations." (6) Local societies are urged to make a study of the Civil Rights Laws and their enforcement in the respective states of our nation. Guidance for such a study will be given by the Department with the hope of giving practical implementation to the World Charter's reference to universal human rights.

The Department, in setting its goals for 1946, again deter-

mined to give major attention to (1) The Church's Ministry to the Family, and (2) Working for World Order, as crucial areas of need in the continuing program of the Department. In line with the specific recommendations for action, the Department gave special attention to possible ways of working to implement the program as outlined. Suggestions for individuals and local groups are available on application to the office of the Department, 150 Fifth Ave, New York 11, N. Y.

The Federation Mailbag

Dear Friends: Congratulations on the BULLETIN. It is really outstanding in quality, scope, and vitality. All power to the Federation.—M. C. HUNT, Ohio.

Dear Friends: I am enclosing \$10 for the coming year. I am very happy to be contributing to an organization which, while not official, is contributing toward the humanization of our Church in which the tendency is toward conformity and smoothness. The Federation has a very important job of objective criticism and of being a conscience to the Church on current economic and social issues.—DEWITT C. BALDWIN, New York.

Dear Friend: SOCIAL QUESTIONS BULLETIN is proving most valuable here on the campus of Georgia State College for Women. There have been many highly favorable comments concerning it.—HELEN CROTWELL, Georgia.

Books and Pamphlets

Voting Restrictions in the Thirteen Southern States, Committee of Editors and Writers of the South (Pamphlet, 1945, published by the Committee. Copies free on request. Address Chamber of Commerce Building, Atlanta, Ga.). In December, 1944, leading Southern editors met in Atlanta, under the chairmanship of Mark Ethridge, publisher of the *Louisville Courier-Journal*, to discuss voting restrictions in the South. The discussion uncovered the devices by which a majority of Southern citizens are deprived of the franchise. The reports show that in the thirteen Southern States 27.9 per cent of the potential voters cast their ballot as compared to 61.9 per cent in the other thirty-five states. No resolutions were passed by the group but individual judgments were expressed frankly that it is time here and now to put democracy into practice. One of the participants said: "I hope that before we begin to try to establish democratic governments all over the world that we are going to start on our own doorsteps and we are going to start in the Southern states." Others spoke to the same effect.

For the People's Health, prepared by Pamphlet Press and published as a public service by the Physicians Forum for the study of medical care, Ernst P. Boas, M.D., chairman; George D. Cannon, M.D., secretary. (Physicians Forum, 510 Madison Ave., New York 22, N. Y. Pamphlet, 1945, 16 pp. Copies free on request.) The national situation as regards the health of the people of U.S.A., medical practice, hospitalization, and what the Wagner-Murray-Dingell bill proposes to do about it. An appeal to people to get behind a full program of national health insurance.

The Home Town Job, A Report on Community Services for Veterans (National Committee on Service to Veterans, under auspices of National Social Work Council, 1790 Broadway, New York 19, N. Y. Pamphlet, 1945, 30 pp. 10¢.). Methods used by 45 U. S. cities in making community services available to veterans through the establishment of veterans service centers and by other means; guideposts to effective community action in behalf of the veteran.

Gyps and Swindles, William Trufant Foster (Public Affairs Committee, Inc., 30 Rockefeller Plaza, New York 20, N. Y. Pamphlet, 1945, 30 pp. 10¢.). Describes the many "gypts," get-rich-quick schemes, fraudulent advertisements, and numerous other ways by which the gullible are separated from their money. A good pamphlet to put into the hands of the unwary.